

## Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

CIAE-00 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SPC-03 TRSE-00 MBFR-04 SAJ-01 SS-15 NSC-10 H-03

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S E C R E T STATE 186027

E.O. 11652:GDS 12/31/81

TAGS:PARM,NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: GUIDANCE ON FOURTH DRAFT OF SECTION II  
(ALLIED POSITION) AND REVISED SECTION III  
(NEGOTIATING STRATEGY FOR SEPTEMBER 19  
SPC MEETING

REFS: A. STATE 158062, B. STATE 179893, C. USNATO 4336,  
D. USNATO 4341, E. USNATO 4346

1. FOLLOWING GUIDANCE ON SECTION II IS KEYED TO NUMBERED  
SECRET

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PARAS FOURTH IS DRAFT PER REF C.

2. PARA 4, FOOTNOTE. YOU MAY ACCEPT REVISED VERSION FOR  
INSERTION IN FINAL VERSION THAT ALTHOUGH FRENCH FORCES ARE

COUNTED IN INTERNAL ALLIED CALCULATIONS OF NATO GROUND FORCES IN NGA, THE TERM "NATO FORCES" DOES NOT INCLUDE FRENCH FORCES.

3. PARA 5, LAST SENTENCE READING "ALLIED PROPOSALS SHOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH THIS OBJECTIVE (UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR ALL MEMBERS OF ALLIANCE) AND SHOULD GIVE FULL WEIGHT IN EACH PROVISION TO THE SPECIAL CONCERNS OF THE NATO FLANK COUNTRIES." YOU MAY ACCEPT THIS SENTENCE, BUT IN DOING SO YOU SHOULD MAKE CLEAR OUR ASSUMPTION THAT ALL

ALLIES UNDERSTAND THAT GEOGRAPHIC FOCUS OF MBFR IS AND WILL REMAIN CENTRAL EUROPE, THAT ALLIES WITH FORCES OR TERRITORIES IN THIS AREA WILL BE UNDERTAKING MOST MBFR COMMITMENTS, THAT THEIR VIEWS SHOULD ACCORDINGLY ALSO BE GIVEN APPROPRIATE WEIGHT IN FORMULATION OF ALLIED PROPOSALS, AND THAT, JUST AS THESE ALLIES HAVE UNDERTAKEN TO SUPPORT ALLIED FLANK COUNTRY OR COUNTRIES WHO DO NOT WISH TO BE INCLUDED IN RESTRICTIONS WHICH WOULD BE PART OF MBFR AGREEMENTS IN PARA 15 OF SECRET GUIDELINES, ALLIED FLANK COUNTRIES WOULD BE EXPECTED TO GIVE SYMPATHETIC CONSIDERATION TO POSITIONS OF ALLIES WHO WILL BE INCLUDED IN SUCH RESTRICTIONS.

4. PARA 6, BRACKETED SENTENCE READING "THESE CONSTRAINTS WOULD OF NECESSITY BE APPLIED TO SPECIFIC FORCES IN RELATION TO SPECIFIC TERRITORIES; IN THEIR FORMULATION THEY SHOULD, HOWEVER, BE FOCUSSED ON FORCES RATHER THAN ON TERRITORIES." IF SENTENCE CANNOT BE ELIMINATED, YOU MAY ACCEPT IF AMENDED TO READ "THEIR FORMULATION SHOULD, HOWEVER, BE FOCUSSED ON FORCES RATHER THAN ON TERRITORIES TO THE EXTENT FEASIBLE."

5. PARA 6, II-IV, LISTING PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS APPLICABLE TO ALL FORCES IN AREA. IF RESISTANCE TO OUR SECRET

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PROPOSAL THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD SEEK AGREEMENT TO THESE MEASURES CONTINUES, YOU SHOULD REQUEST INSTRUCTED VIEWS OF OTHER GOVERNMENTS ON THE POSSIBILITY OF RESTRICTING THESE CONSTRAINTS TO US/SOVIET FORCES.

6. PARA 7. YOU MAY ACCEPT BRACKETED SENTENCE READING "THIS FIGURE (THE MAXIMUM 10 NATO REDUCTION) TAKES INTO ACCOUNT POSSIBLE REPERCUSSION ON AGREED NATO STRATEGY: FORWARD DEFENSE, FLEXIBLE RESPONSE AND NUCLEAR DETERRENCE." YOU SHOULD MAINTAIN OUR PREFERENCE FOR THE THIRD SENTENCE READING "THE COMMON CEILING IS TO BE UNDERSTOOD AS APPROXIMATE PARITY IN GROUND MANPOWER, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT COMBAT CAPABILITY AND DEPLOYMENT." RE LAST SENTENCE PROPOSED SECRET

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BY FRG READING "THERE WOULD BE AN INTERNAL ALLIED DECISION TO FIX A FLOOR BELOW WHICH ALLIED REDUCTIONS SHOULD NOT GO," YOU SHOULD CONTINUE TO OPPOSE THIS AS SUPERFLUOUS, ARGUING PER PARA 12 REF B THAT CONCEPT OF LIMITS IS ADEQUATELY COVERED IN DEFINITIONS OF ALLIED REDUCTIONS ELSEWHERE IN PAPER WITH WHICH WE INTEND TO ABIDE, AND SPECIFICALLY IN PARA 7 OF SECTION II WHICH DESCRIBES NATO CUT IN PURSUIT OF GROUND FORCE PARITY OBJECTIVE IN NEGOTIATIONS AS "MAXIMUM."

7. PARA 8. YOU SHOULD CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR DELETION OF BRACKETS AROUND 700,000-MAN FIGURE AND FOR FIRST SENTENCE READING "WITHDRAWAL TO THEIR HOMELANDS OF SOME US AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES FROM THE GUIDELINES AREA, AS THE FIRST STEP TOWARDS THE OBJECTIVE DEFINED ABOVE, I.E., TOWARD AN OVERALL NATO/WP GROUND MANPOWER COMMON CEILING AT APPROXIMATELY 700,000 MEN ON EACH SIDE." UNLESS OTHERS ACCEPT OUR PREFERRED THIRD SENTENCE IN PARA 7 (SEE PRECEDING PARA THIS CABLE) YOU SHOULD ALSO MAINTAIN OUR PREFERENCE FOR "MANPOWER" VICE "FORCES" IN BOTH PARAS 7 AND 8.

8. PARA 10, FOOTNOTE LIMITING US WITHDRAWALS TO COMBAT CAPABILITY EQUIVALENT OF TWO BRIGADES. GUIDANCE IN PARA 14 OF STATE 179893 CONTINUES TO APPLY.

11. PARA 12 BIS, ON CONSTRAINTS TO ELIMINATE OR MITIGATE INCREASED THREAT TO FLANKS. WE CONTINUE TO OPPOSE WHAT WE CONSIDER POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS OVERLOADING OF THE ALLIED MBFR PROPOSAL, AS REPRESENTED BY THIS PARAGRAPH, AND YOU SHOULD MAKE THIS CLEAR IN DISCUSSION. HOWEVER, IN VIEW OF STRONG FLANK INTEREST AND OF IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO ACHIEVING AGREED ALLIED NEGOTIATING SECRET

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POSITION IN TIMELY FASHION, WE COULD ACCEPT AN AMENDED SENTENCE ALONG THESE LINES ON THE FOLLOWING CONDITIONS. FIRST, SECTION II CAN BE AGREED WITHOUT BRACKETS. SECOND, CURRENT SUBPARAS 11(III) AND 12 (IV) CAN BE ELIMINATED. THIRD, IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT US HAS NOT CHANGED ITS BASIC POSITION THAT PROVISIONS OF THIS SORT ARE POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS TO ALLIED NEGOTIATING POSITION. FOURTH, THERE IS NO IMPLICATION OF AGREEMENT AT THIS TIME TO ADVANCE SUCH PROVISIONS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. WITH THESE CONDITIONS, YOU MAY ACCORDINGLY PROPOSE FOLLOWING TEXT. BEGIN TEXT: CERTAIN PROVISIONS DESIGNED TO ENHANCE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF A REDUCTIONS AGREEMENT IN CENTRAL EUROPE AND TO MEET ANY INCREASE IN THE THREAT TO THE FLANKS AS A RESULT OF MBFR IN THE CENTRAL REGION SHOULD BE STUDIED WITHIN THE ALLIANCE FOR

POSSIBLE USE WITH THE OTHER SIDE IN THE LIGHT OF THE  
TACTICAL NEGOTIATING SITUATION. THEY ARE:" END TEXT,  
PLUS I-III OF CURRENT TEXT. FYI. WE INTEND TO LET OTHERS  
TAKE INITIATIVE IN PROPOSING FORMULATIONS. END FYI.

12. PARA 13. YOU MAY ACCEPT BRACKETED FINAL SENTENCES  
READING "IN A NON-CIRCUMVENTION AGREEMENT CARE MUST BE  
TAKEN TO AVOID AN INSUFFICIENTLY SPECIFIED NON-CIRCUM-  
VENTION CLAUSE WHICH COULD BE INTERPRETED BY THE  
WARSAW PACT AS IMPLYING A GENERAL INHIBITION OF ANY REIN-  
FORCEMENT OR REDEPLOYMENT OF CONCERNED NATO FORCES ANY-  
WHERE IN ACE OUTSIDE THE GUIDELINES AREA. SUCH IN-  
HIBITION COULD AMOUNT TO A DE FACTO FREEZE OF THOSE  
FORCES WITHIN THE ENTIRE ACE AREA IF AMENDED TO READ  
"CLAUSE SO WORDED THAT IT COULD BE INTERPRETED ETC."  
YOU SHOULD INSIST ON RETENTION OF THE WORD "GENERAL"  
IN THIS FORMULATION.

13. PARA 15, FOOTNOTE READING "PARTICIPATION OF LIAISON  
OFFICERS OF THE HOST COUNTRY IN ANY INSPECTION TEAM  
SHOULD BE ASSURED." YOU SHOULD CONTINUE TO OPPOSE. YOU  
SHOULD STATE THAT US HAS NO BASIC OBJECTION IN PRINCIPLE  
BUT THAT SINCE ALLIES HAVE AGREED TO FOCUS THE VERIFICA-  
TION PROPOSALS THEY WILL CONSIDER ON MEANS OF INSPECTION  
AND DEFER NEGOTIATION ON AGENCIES OF INSPECTION TILL MEANS  
AGREED, IT WOULD BE PREMATURE TO SUPPORT A PROPOSAL  
SECRET

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SPECIFYING DETAILS IN THIS WAY.

14. PARA 16. GUIDANCE FOLLOWS.

15. ON OTHER SECTION II QUESTIONS, PREVIOUS GUIDANCE  
CONTINUES TO APPLY.

16. RE PARA 13 OF SECTION 3 (PARA 2 REF D), WE ENDORSE  
YOUR ACCEPTANCE OF "ABOUT" BEFORE 700,000-MAN FIGURE. RUSH

SECRET

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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